J. Gamble S-5 /1926-1932/1954 AFSC North China AFSC

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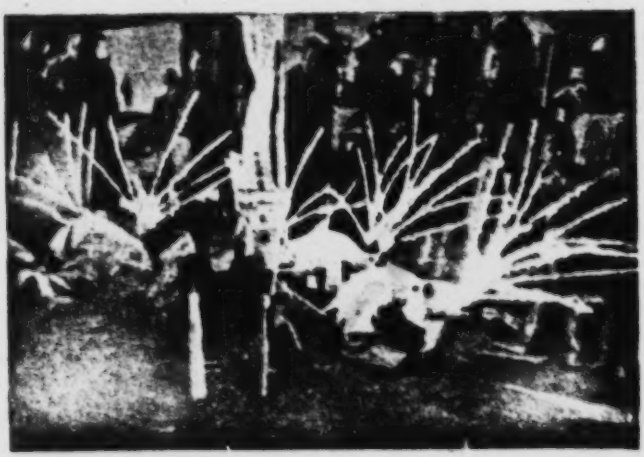

FUNERAL—"LIBATION IN THE ROAD"

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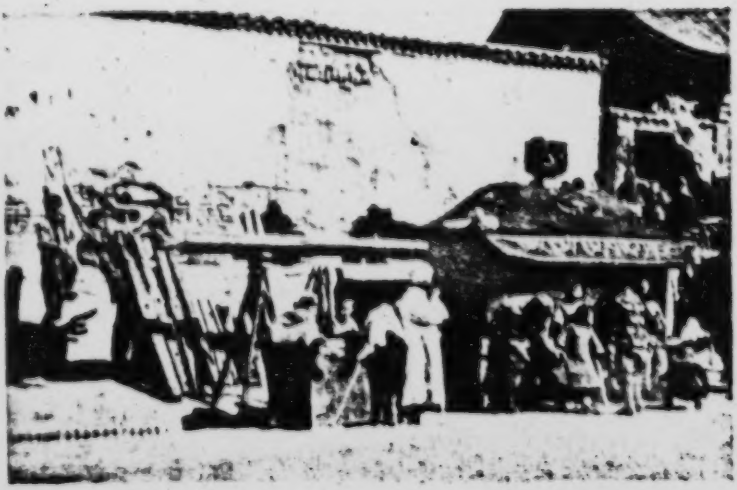

DRAGON HEADED CATAFALQUE

[p. 4 (m)]

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K'UEI HSING, GOD OF LITERATURE

[p. 4(n)]

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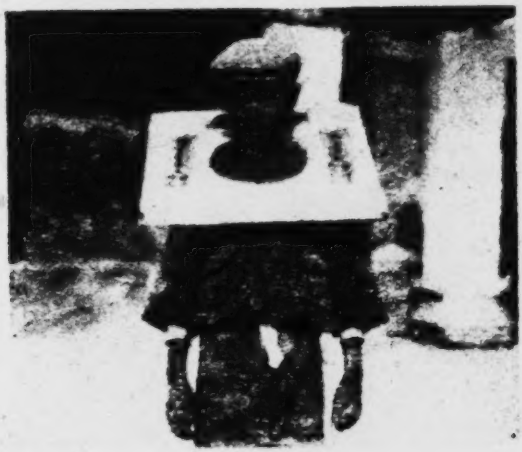

PAPER AND KAOLIANG CANGUE

Worn on 1st of 10th moon to remind worshipers of Ch'eng Huang and protect them from evil.

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SHRINE ERECTED TO SPIRIT OF OLD TREE

[p. 4 (p)]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954. AF12 North China AF12

536 533 singing for his own pleasure and to scare away any wandering spirits that might be about.

The reports spoke especially of the large numbers of women and girls who attended the yang ke plays. They were one of the big recreational events of the year and all the community made the most of them.

545 369 533 Theatrical performances were also given by troupes of professional actors engaged by some villages and by city organizations, such as the Lantern Association of the West Street, to give plays at New Year's time, for the temple fairs, and for other special occasions. The engagements were usually for a three or four day series of plays. The cost of this entertainment was about $130. The details of the expenditure are given in our report on the Temple Fairs in Chapter XVIII. The expenses of the plays given in the villages were usually paid by all the people in the village, generally by special graduated subscriptions rather than from general village funds. In some instances the amount of a family's subscription was determined by the amount of land the family held. In others the amount asked of each family was arbitrarily fixed, but it usually had some relation to the family's economic status. The subscription was practically obligatory, but we were told of some instances where families had refused to contribute. The collector threatened them with bodily harm if any member of the family went to the plays. In the city the cost was met by the members of the organization promoting the plays.

The spectators were not limited to the inhabitants of the village giving the plays, but came from the surrounding villages as well. It was an occasion for much local visiting and entertaining.

536 776 782 Worship of the gods was closely connected with most if not all of the plays given in 1929. A possible exception was those given for the Tung T'ing fairs, as it was reported that those fairs had no temple connection. If the stage was not set up in or near a temple courtyard where there was an altar, a shrine usually was built opposite the stage so that the gods might be worshiped and know that the plays were given as an offering to them. The people attending the plays combined worship and recreation. Theatrical plays were often given, as a special offering, when the community was seeking help from the gods, asking for rain, or wanting protection from locusts or other pests and disasters. The plays given at the temple fairs were naturally related to the temple worship.

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In the shrine opposite the stage, in one of the villages, the tablet was that of All the Gods. On each side of the niche in which the tablet was stood was pasted a couplet printed on red paper. It read:

Be welcome Divine God
You are the Father who will soon give us blessing.
Be merry and happy
No locusts shall come morning or night.

The strip of red paper pasted above the shrine read:

Gratitude for Your Divine Kindness.

Three incense burners stood in front of the shrine. On the table in front of them there were three dishes of small loaves of Chinese bread, all colored red for the occasion, and five dishes of food. Each of the food dishes was decorated with a red flower. All day long people stopped before the altar to burn incense and paper money, to kotow and pray.

At one performance five plays were given in one evening. In another the program included eight plays.

One of the plays given by a professional troupe depicted in six scenes the story of Hsü-hsien, who fell in love with a young girl called White Serpent. They loved each other dearly and were quietly married. The fifth day of the fifth month was a time to dispel evil spirits and many people drank a specially potent wine that was said to be able to reveal a disguised spirit in its true form. On that day the couple drank to each other's health. Unbeknown to White Serpent, the special wine was used and as soon as it touched her lips her beautiful human form was changed into a white snake. Hsü-hsien fled to the Chin-shan Abbey, told his story to the abbot, and pled with him to save him. The white snake was very angry and went to her kinsman, the king of the water dragons, to ask his help against the abbot. He ordered his soldiers and subjects—the fish, turtles, lobsters, clams, oysters, and water insects—to lash the water into a tumult. The seas overflowed, the land was deluged, the Chin-shan Abbey was submerged. The white snake fought with the abbot, but was overcome by his great magic and the seas were returned to their bed. The white serpent was imprisoned in a tower by the abbot until she should repent of her evil ways and promise to be good. Hsü-hsien was saved by the power of the abbot.

The stage was usually about 30 feet square with the back third

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Two studies were made of the temples. The first and more complete study was made in 1928 of the temples in the 62 villages of the Experimental District. A more general study of the entire hsien was made in 1930. There were 855 temples in the 453 villages and market towns of the hsien, an average of 1.9 temples per village. Tinghsien city had 22 temples. For the Experimental District, the figure was 104 temples, an average of 1.7 temples per village. Some villages had no temples. Others had as many as 11. In the Experimental District 31, or one-half of the villages, had no temples; eight had only one temple. Eleven villages, 18 per cent, had more than three temples, but only four villages, 6 per cent, had more than five temples.

There were three Mohammedan mosques in the hsien, two in the villages and one in the city.

The Catholics had a large city church, six village churches, and 36 other places of meeting, the Protestants a city church, 14 village congregations, but no village churches.

The list of the principal gods in the temples showed that there were four kinds or groups of temples, Buddhist, Taoist, Official, and Individual.

The outstanding deities of the different cults are, of course, quite clear. The various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, and Kuan Yin, the goddess of mercy, are unmistakably Buddhist. Yü Huang, the San Ching, the San Kuan, Chen Wu, Erh Lang, Lao Tzu, and the Stellar Deities are the chief Taoist gods. The Niang Niangs, a group of some nine goddesses, are included in this group even though their origin is probably pre-Taoist and may trace back to a very early goddess of fecundity. National heroes who have gradually been deified and given a place in the Official temples are Confucius; China's three mythical emperors, Fu Hsi, Shen Nung, and Huang Ti; the three heroes of San Kuo times, Kuan Yü, Liu Pei, and Chang Fei; and Yüeh Fei, a Sung dynasty warrior. Besides these heroes the Official list includes the Ch'eng Huang and the T'u Ti, the gods of the particular locality. Ch'eng Huang, the protector of the city, had the same rank in the spirit world as the local official had in the temporal world. The T'u Ti is the local constable. The dragons are included in the official list as they controlled the rain, and it was part of the officials' duty to offer prayers for propitious weather.

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776 794 Another group of gods who are neither Buddhist, Taoist, nor Official can best be classified as the gods of individual cults. They are generally polytheistic in nature. Such gods are the Ch'ung Wang, god of the insects, Ma Wang, god of the horses, Ho Shen, god of the river, and others of a similar nature.

When a temple is classified as Buddhist, Taoist, Official, or as belonging to one of the individual cults, it means that the principal deity belongs to that group. The lesser gods of the temple may, and often do, belong to one of the other groups. The Buddhist Kuan Yin and the Official Kuan Ti are found on the side altars of many temples dedicated to other deities.

795 779 Through the years Buddhism, Taoism, and the Official and individual cults have influenced each other, borrowed from each other, and imitated each other as one or the other has gained in popularity, prestige, and power until now, in some cases, it is difficult to decide the group to which some of the temples belong.

Several examples will perhaps illustrate how the different groups have intermingled and influenced each other. The origin of the dragon is pre-Buddhist as it goes back to very early days, but it is the Buddhists who have personalized the dragons and the dragon mother. We have included the dragons in the Official list because of their official function in controlling the rain. The Ch'eng Huang has long been the official protector of the city walls, but under the Manchu dynasty the deceased official whose spirit was to occupy that position for three years was nominated by the Taoist pope. At the end of his term the Ch'eng Huang might be renominated or replaced. The Buddhists claim that Yü Huang, the chief god of the Taoist trinity, is their god Yü Ti, stolen by the Taoists. The head Taoist priest in Ting Hsien lived in the city Ch'eng Huang temple. There used to be one temple, T'ien Chen Szu, that combined Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, and Mohammedanism so that any sect could come there to worship.

The Buddhist and Taoist temples did not appear to have any close connection with a central organization or governing body as is true of religious sects in most Western countries. The temples seemed to be relatively independent units. Most of them had been erected by the people living in the village. The building was financed sometimes by popular subscription, sometimes from official village funds, occasionally by an individual who had acquired wealth and wanted to

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do something for his native village. When built, the temple was dedicated to the deity who offered the type of protection the people felt they needed or who personified the characteristics they honored and revered. Most of the temples were looked after by the village people. Priests were in attendance only for special services. These priests had had, of course, the official Buddhist or Taoist training.

It must also be remembered that generally most of the Chinese do not feel the exclusiveness about their religion that often is felt by those trained in the traditions of Western countries. They can believe in both Buddhist and Taoist teachings and can worship in any of the temples if the deities have the attributes they desire to worship or are able to give the sort of help they need. One writer says that this is due to the fact that a popular religion has developed that has borrowed from Buddhism, Taoism, and the Official cult but is distinct from them and must be regarded as a separate system.

If the 855 village temples are grouped according to the connection of the principal deity, there were 345 Taoist, 223 Official, 215 Buddhist, 54 belonging to individual cults, and 18 that must be classed as miscellaneous as they were dedicated to all the gods or else their name, such as Big Temple, did not indicate their connection. The percentage division was 41 per cent Taoist, 26 per cent Official, 25 per cent Buddhist, 6 per cent Individual, and 2 per cent miscellaneous. In the Experimental District the division was very similar—45 per cent Taoist, 24 per cent Official, 23 per cent Buddhist, and 8 per cent Individual.

The principal Taoist deities, judging from the number of temples dedicated to them, were the Wu Tao, gods of the five elements, with 157 temples; the San Kuan, the three rulers of heaven, earth, and water; the Niang Niangs, a group of female deities who grant children, protect the eyes, etc.; Chen Wu, who alone among men is perfection itself; Yü Huang, the Jade or Pearly Emperor, the supreme god of the Taoist pantheon. Forty-five per cent of the Taoist temples were Wu Tao Miao; 91 per cent were dedicated to the above five groups of deities.

Kuan Yü, the Chinese god of war and also one of the gods of literature, was by far the most popular of the Official gods. He was the chief or one of the chief gods in 148, two-thirds, of the Official Temples. The dragons had 45 temples dedicated to them in Ting Hsien. These two groups included 86 per cent of the Official temples.

In 91 per cent of the Buddhist temples the chief deity was one of the

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776 779 manifestations of Kuan Yin, the Buddhist Goddess of Mercy. In some temples she was known as the Nan Hai Ta Shih, South Sea Grand Goddess, in others as Lao Mu, old mother.

Three quarters of the individual cult temples were dedicated to the king of the horses or the king of the insects. The Huo Shen, fire god, did not have any temple in Ting Hsien, but was one of the secondary gods in some of the other temples.

346 In size the temples varied from one to 30 chien. There were 1,397 chien in the 855 temples, or an average of 1.6 chien per temple. For the Experimental District, 83 per cent of the temples had only one chien. Eleven per cent had three chien and only 3 per cent had more than three.

Three was the average number of temple chien per village for the entire hsien. For the six Districts the averages ranged from 2.2 in the 4th District to 3.4 in the 6th District. In the Experimental District the average was 2.8 chien per village. It has been difficult to find any reason for this difference in the averages. A difference in wealth might account for it, but the cost of erecting a one-chien temple was relatively small. The religious beliefs of the past may have made a deeper and more lasting impression on those living in the northern part of the hsien so that they built more and larger temples, or they may have been more conservative and so have preserved more of their temples. In the 4th District, there were many more villages where some of the people had been willing to accept the newer ideas presented by Christianity.

794 The operating expenses of a temple ordinarily were very small. Except for special services and occasional repairs only a few dollars a year would be needed for incense and paper money. Very few of the temples had any priest connected with them, so the support of a priest was seldom an item in the temple budget. One or more of the villagers was appointed to look after the temple and light the incense in front of the altar.

793 There were 24 Buddhist and 15 Taoist priests in Ting Hsien. Eight of the Buddhists and seven of the Taoists lived in the city. The others were in the 1st, 3rd, and 5th Districts. Twelve of the 15 Taoist priests were married. They belonged to a class that did not take the vow of celibacy.

Many of the priests were paid only when they took part in some special service, such as those held during a temple fair; during the temples'

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perhaps because of the cost involved in repairing them if they had fallen into disrepair. In 1928 83 per cent of the Experimental District temples had only one chien and only 3 per cent had more than three chien. In the 1882 list the corresponding figures were 70 per cent and 9 per cent. According to the earlier list the average number of temple chien per village was 15. In 1928 it was 2.8.

In 396 temples of the earlier list the gods were represented by images, in 31 by pictures painted on the walls. There were 2,157 images in the 396 temples, an average for the temples with images of 5.4. One-half of the temples had three images and another 14 per cent had only one image. Forty-eight temples, 12 per cent, had 10 or more images. The maximum was 116. Of these 48 larger temples, only six were maintained in 1928.

In 1928 there were 78 temples with images and 26 with pictures. The number of images was 404 or an average of 5.2. This was only slightly lower than the 1882 average. There was not more difference because one temple with 116 images was included in both lists. If that temple is omitted, the 1928 average was 3.7 images per temple. One would naturally expect a low average as 83 per cent of the temples on the 1928 list had only one chien and on a single altar there is hardly room for more than one large image or three smaller ones.

A comparison of the 1928 and 1882 lists shows that while 76 per cent of all the temples had been given up, 85 per cent of those with five or more images had been discontinued, 91 per cent of those with 15 or more, and 94 per cent of those with 20 or more images.

Because there are some 18 different names of Buddhist temples on the earlier list, but only five on the 1928 list, our first impression was that the non-Buddhist gods had the stronger hold on the people and that a larger proportion of the Buddhist temples had been given up than was true of the other groups. Further analysis of the figures showed that the opposite was true. The Taoist, Official, and Individual groups lost from 75 to 78 per cent of their temples but only 70 per cent of the Buddhist temples were discontinued. The difference is not large, but it would seem to suggest that the Buddhist gods or more especially Kuan Yin, to whom in her various manifestations some 91 per cent of the Buddhist temples are dedicated, had a stronger hold on the hearts of the people than most of the other gods.

Two-thirds of the temples dedicated to Kuan Yin had been given up

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but of the more popular deities, those with four or more temples, she was the only one that, in 1928, had more than 30 per cent of the number in 1882. Yü Huang, the Pearly Emperor, had only one left out of 22, a 95 per cent loss. The decrease in the temples dedicated to the other female deities was 77 per cent or just about the average loss. For all of the goddesses together, the decrease was 70 per cent. Their temples were 21 per cent of the earlier list but were 27 per cent of the 1928 list.

Some new temples were built after 1928 and others were renovated. We have not attempted a study of the reasons for this activity, but it seems to indicate that some of the people were turning again to the old gods. Considering the events of the years immediately following 1925, this is hardly surprising. Chinese armies marched through and occupied the district. There was fighting, bombing from airplanes, looting, heavier taxes, and extraordinary demands for money, supplies, and men. Unable to get help and protection from the forces of this world, it is not surprising that some of the people came to feel that their only hope was in the forces of the spirit world and that their help should be sought through special services, the rebuilding of temples fallen into disrepair, and the erection of new shrines.

Soon after the uniting of the country in 1928 the Nationalist government issued a decree concerning the temples. Those dedicated to the sages and worthies of preceding ages were to be kept up. This list included the three mythical emperors, Fu Hsi, Shen Nung, Huang Ti, Lei Ts'u (who first reared silk worms), Ts'ang Chieh (the inventor of writing), Hou Chi (the Harvest Patron), Emperor Yü, Confucius, Mencius, Kung Shu Pan, Kuan Yü, and Yueh Fei. The temples and churches of the religious sect teaching theism with a pure and right intention were to be continued. These included the followers of Sakyamuni and Lao Tzu, Mohammedanism and Christianity.

The temples to be suppressed were those in which purely legendary personages were worshiped with no practical utility. These included the temples of the stellar spirits, the sun, the moon, etc., of Huo Shen the fire god, of K'uei Hsing the god of literature, of Wen Ch'ang (the cult of the battleflag), of the genii of the mountains, rivers, and earth, of the five holy peaks, the four rivers, the river spirits, the Dragon Kings, the Ministry of Thunder, of T'ai Shan, Tung Yueh, Ch'eng Huang, and T'u Ti; also the temples offending against public morality by playing on the credulity of people for gain, the temples of Chang

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Hsien, Sung Tzu, Niang Niang, Ts'ai Shen, Erh Lang, Sun Hou Tzu the monkey god, Wen Shen, Hsüan T'an the god of riches, Shih Ch'ien, and Hu Hsien the fox spirit.

The decree marked for suppression a large part of the Ting Hsien temples, but, up to 1935, there seems to have been no serious effort to enforce it in North China. It seemed then that, lacking governmental pressure, the number of temples would probably diminish very gradually, that as the less popular temples fell into disrepair they would be given up, but that the belief in the more popular deities was so widespread and so deeply imbedded in the life of the people that it would continue for a long time. What influence the war with Japan and the Japanese occupation had on the religious life of Ting Hsien is unknown.

Freedom of religion is part of the constitution of the new Central People's Government, but it is reported that when the Communists were in control of parts of Kiangsi province they destroyed all the temples and shrines in the area. How many temples will survive in Ting Hsien?

Temple Fairs

Fairs held to honor the gods and to present them with incense, feasts, and entertainment combined religious worship, amusement, recreation, business, and sociability. They were the largest public activities associated with any of the temples. Thousands of people came from neighboring villages and even farther afield and there was great activity during the three, four, or more days of the fair. Free theatrical performances were regularly part of the program and were very popular.

Many of the fairs have a long history but we also found that new ones were being organized at the time of our study.

While the fairs usually were held to honor one of the more popular gods and worship was regularly part of the program, in at least one town there were two annual fairs that had no religious connection.

Not every temple or every village or even every market village had a fair. The city, two of its three suburbs, and 35 of the 453 towns and villages held fairs. How they were distributed throughout the hsien is shown on the hsien map on page 5. The map also shows the month when the fairs were held. Fifty was the total number reported. Six fairs were listed in the city, four in one town, three in another, and two in

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another. Only one village had two fairs and they were both in the same month.

The third lunar month with 14 fairs and the second month with 12 were the most popular times for fairs. Sixty-two per cent were held in the first quarter of the year but only 4 per cent in the last quarter. There were no fairs in the 11th and 12th months. The sixth, seventh, and eighth month had only one fair each.

A fair was usually an all village activity with various committees taking charge of the necessary arrangements for the worship, for the theatricals, for the erection of the stage for the players and the mat shed for the spectators, for the selling booths, for the grouping of the various kinds of products offered for sale, for the collection of the necessary funds. For some fairs the money was collected from everyone in the village on the basis of their estimated wealth or the amount of land they owned. In others the money was collected from the shops and stores in the village and from the merchants coming for the fair. In still others an attempt was made to collect the cost of the fair from the visiting merchants and those who set up temporary booths. Only if these contributions left a deficit were the residents of the village asked to subscribe. If there was any surplus in the fair account it usually was added to the general fund of the village.

In most villages the fair was run by the group in charge of the village government, but in some it was in the hands of an entirely different group.

The cost of a fair lasting four days ordinarily varied from $100 to $150. The theatricals given for the entertainment of the gods and the visitors, except one or two caretakers who had to be left in each $114, the main items were:

Theatrical troupe	$60.00	Light and fuel	$6.50
Tip for head of troupe	4.00	Entertainment of soldiers	8.00
Mat shed	17.00	Tax for entertainment	4.00
Stage	10.00	Miscellaneous	4.50

The Pei Ch'i fair was given to honor Han Tsu (see pages 420–21). His worship was the high point of the fair. On the evening of the 20th of the 3rd month practically the entire village of 326 families and their many visitors, except for one or two caretakers who had to be left in each house, went to the temple. Many devout worshippers kotowed every

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ten steps from their home to the temple. They all spent the night in the temple sitting on the floor in front of the altar. The nearer one sat to the altar the better chance he would have to get a blessing from the god early in the morning.

In the morning a new robe was put on the god, he was fanned, incense was burned, and feasts were offered on the altar. Oil money was given for the god. Other contributions were put into the money box.

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It was estimated that the shops and stalls and displays of goods for this fair covered 150 mu, 25 acres, and that the attendance was some 10,000 persons per day for four days. In the animal market some 2,400 head were sold. The shops and dealers at the 1927 fair were listed as:

Cloth	80	Bamboo articles	7	Tea shops	10
Silk	6	Reed curtains	7	Wine	5
Jewelry	30	Willow baskets	7	Miscellaneous food	30
Furs	15	Stone articles	3	Barbers	20
Imported goods	6	Winnowing machines	3	Fortune tellers	10
Brooms and dusters	50	Rolls	15	Peep shows	6
Iron goods	35	Noodles	12	Story tellers	5
Baskets	10	Bread	7	Chinese boxers	3
Fertilizer	10	Meat	14		
Drug shops	8				

Lumber and wood sellers covered an area of 10 mu. No count was made of dealers in agricultural implements.

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Tung Wang, a village of 319 families, held its fair on the 15th–19th of the third month to honor the god Ch'eng Huang (see page 400). He was noted for his ability to cure disease and settle problems for his worshipers. The activities of the fair covered some 30 mu. The attendance was some 4,000 per day.

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The fair in Yao Lu Chuang, a small village with only 51 families, was started in 1927, because so many people came to worship the spirit of a willow tree that stood at the edge of the village. The village head had wanted to cut the tree down to get some money for the village school but before it was done a man came and said that a god had appeared to him in a dream and had told him that the willow tree was about to be deified and that pieces of the tree would cure sickness. The news spread around. People came to worship. A man was cured. Then so many people came that the village organized a four day fair from the 2nd to the 5th of the 3rd month.

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The reputation of the tree was increased when a man who never believed in the willow tree god was struck with paralysis as he passed the tree, stayed there a day and had to be carried home. A sick man on a journey was impressed by the size of the tree. He stopped, kotowed, and prayed for help. The spirit of the tree cured him.

There was no temple near the tree so the village put up, for the fair days, a mat shed where the visitors could rest and an altar where they could pray. The names of those who contributed were written on yellow paper and pasted on the walls of the mat shed. The worshipers took pieces of the tree away with them. If the tree cured them they presented a board or a cloth scroll that was hung on the tree.

The fair covered some 30 mu of land and had an estimated attendance of some 4,000 a day. The shops listed were:

Cloth	5	Bread	3	Miscellaneous food	14
Jewelry	3	Noodles	3	Cigarettes	11
Paper flowers	3	Meat	3		
Toys	6	Tea	3	Barbers	2
Miscellaneous goods	6	Wine	3	Gambling	11

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The Tung T'ing fall fair was first organized about 1921. It was held in the 9th month to supplement the spring fair held in the 1st month. There was no temple connected with the fair and no altar was set up for worship by the visitors.

This fair was next to the Pei Ch'i fair in size. It covered some 50 mu and drew some 5,000 visitors per day. About 1,000 animals were sold during the four days. There were 22 games of chance on the fair grounds, fish bowls from which to draw numbers, bamboo sticks to be shaken until one came out, and shell games. The report stated that there was not as much entertainment at Tung T'ing as at Pei Chi.

The shops at the fall fair were:

Cotton cloth	30	Carts	6	Tea	6
Silk	5	Willow twigs	6	Miscellaneous food	25
Fur lined coats	12	Boxes	5		
Jewelry	9	Paper flowers	5	Barbers	15
Imported goods	5			Fortune tellers	5
Iron	10	Rolls	8	Chinese boxers	3
Leather	7	Bread	3	Story tellers	3
Rugs	7	Meat	5	Gambling	22
Toys	7	Wine	3		

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575 those with some education. Since then the membership had fallen off The society had some secret rules and regulations and was very strict on keeping them secret. The group held no regular meetings. In the Experimental District there were members in only one village.

The Hao Shih Hui, Good Deeds Society, came to Ting Hsien from An Kuo Hsien in 1906. All that we could learn about this society was that it held a three day meeting beginning on the 19th of the first month. The amusements provided included theatricals, acrobats, and performing monkeys. The expense of the meeting was met by contributions from the members. Only a few families in one village in the Experimental District were members.

776 We did not attempt a study of the powers, attributes, and history of the gods of Ting Hsien, as they generally were the same as the gods worshiped in other parts of China and have been studied and described by others. A list of the gods represented in the Ting Hsien temples will, however, give an idea of the spirits worshiped in that area.[1]

Chang Fei, companion of Kuan Ti.
Ch'eng Huang, god of the city walls and moat.
Ch'i Shen, seven spirits of seven stars of the Big Dipper.
Chiang T'ai Kung, hero of 12th century B.C., reincarnated as advisor of first Chou Emperor.
Chiu Shen, nine gods in charge of nine levels of heaven.
Ch'ung Wang, god of the insects.
Confucius, China's great teacher, philosopher, and sage.
Dragons, gods of rain, rivers, and streams.
Erh Lang, nephew of Yü Huang, with power over ghosts and evil spirits.
Fox spirits.
Han Tsu, distributor of buckwheat seed.
Ho Shen, river god.
Kuan Yin, Buddhist goddess of mercy.
Kuan Yü, also known as Kuan Ti or Kuang Kung, hero of Three Kingdoms, god of war, literature, and the theatre.
Lao Tzu, reputed founder of Taoism.
Liu Pei, god of carpenters, hero of Three Kingdoms.
Ma Mien, horse face, attendant of Ch'eng Huang.
Ma Wang, King of the horses.
Niang Niangs, group of female deities.

1. We are indebted to Mrs. L. Carrington Goodrich for her help in securing information on the character, history, and classification of the gods.

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Niu T'ou, cow head, attendant of Ch'eng Huang.
Pei Tou, Big Dipper.
San Ch'ing, three pure ones, inhabitants of three heavens.
San Huang, China's three mythical emperors.
San Kuan, Three Causes or Agents, Taoist rulers of heaven, earth, and water, personified by various groups of three heroes.
Shan Shen, god of the mountains.
Szu Ta T'ien Wang, Four Diamond Kings of Heaven, rulers of the four quarters of the universe and of the four seas.
Tsang Ku, maiden of the time of Confucius, an expert in needle work.
T'u Ti, subordinate of Ch'eng Huang, constable of spirits in the district.
Tung Yueh Ta Ti, ruler of the Eastern Hell, helper of Chou Wang of the Shang dynasty.
Wen Shen, god of epidemics.
Wu Tao, gods of the five elements, five points of the compass, five grains.
Wu Tou, five stars, representing the five points of the compass.
Yao Wang, god of medicine.
Yü Huang, Jade or Pearly Emperor, ruler of heaven.
Yüeh Fei, a general of the Sung dynasty.

The story of Kuan Yü, who was also known as Kuan Ti or Kuan Kung, will show how one of the most popular of the gods increased in influence and popularity, and was given increasingly exalted titles by the Emperor.

Kuan Yü was known as the god of war, and his temples were often called military temples. He was the patron saint of all soldiers, but was also worshiped by many other groups because of his sincerity, loyalty, bravery, righteousness, generosity, and honesty. He had power over demons, and was sometimes known as a god of literature and of the theatre. A picture showing him presenting sons wearing official headdress was often hung on the wall of the bridal chamber. It was believed that he granted immunity from disease, success to the scholar, old age for parents, a quick passage through hell, and a speedy rebirth for departed spirits. He was one of the gods whose pictures were burned at New Year's time. He was specially worshiped on the 15th of the second moon and the 13th of the fifth moon. He was on the rabbit pictures used for the Moon Festival on the 15th of the eighth moon.

According to tradition he died in 220, executed by his enemy Sun Ch'üan. In 260 the son of his friend Liu Pei gave him the title of "Brave Western Marquis". In 583 the Sui Emperor added the title, "Sincere

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

776 and Merciful Duke". In 676 he was made the tutelary god of a monastery built near his grave by the T'ang Emperor to the memory of the six Buddhist Patriarchs. The Taoist pope and the people soon recognized his power over demons. In 1096 a tablet with the title "Prayer Answering Illustrious King" was placed in his temple. In 1108 was added the title "Brave Peace Bringing King". He was also called "Faithful and Loyal Duke", "Magnificent Prince and Pacificator", and "Warrior Prince and Civilizer". In 1129 the Sung Emperor ordered that regular official sacrifices be made to him. In 1614 he was granted the title "Great Emperor, subduing the demons of the three regions, Heaven Exalted One whose powerful authority makes the most remote stand in awe of him, Kuan, the Holy Ruler". In 1856, because of his help during the Taiping rebellion, he was made the "Protector of the Dynasty" and the equal of Confucius. In 1914 the Republican government ordered that sacrifices be made to him in all the military temples, and generals and soldiers took their oath of allegiance before his image.

Kuan Ti was reported to have appeared in Peking during the reign of Hsün Chih (1644–1661). He was said to have given stomach trouble to any of the foreign troops that attempted to stay in the Tung Yueh Miao in 1900, and, as a cloud of yellow dust, to have protected the Empress Dowager when she fled from Peking.

If rain fell on the 13th of the fifth moon it was because Kuan Ti was sharpening his sword and the water dripped from his grindstone; if on the 24th of the sixth moon, he was celebrating his birthday and was drunk. His birthday was the date when usually, in North China, the Green Crop Associations, Ch'ing Miao Hui, held their first fall meeting and the crop watchmen started their protection of the fall harvest.

Kuan Ti was associated with Chang Fei and Liu Pei in the 13 San I Miao in Ting Hsien. These three were specially noted for ther unsurpassed loyalty. They were worshiped by those swearing brotherhood. Together they protected the district and kept it peaceful as Kuan Ti's big sword chased away the demons, Liu Pei's two edged sword had power over poisonous insects, and Chang Fei's spear gave prosperity. Kuan Ti was known as one of the emperors of heaven, Liu Pei represented men or earth, and Chang Fei the underworld. Liu Pei had a white face like the moon, Chang Fei a black face with big eyes like the stars, and Kuan Ti a red face like the sun.

We found one god, Han Tsu, who was especially connected with Ting

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Hsien. In some areas he was known as the god of silk worms, but in Ting Hsien it was believed that he was responsible for the miraculous distribution of greatly needed buckwheat seed. The story is that some time ago when there was drought in Shen Chow Hsien and Yao Yang Hsien, the rain came just at the time for the sowing of buckwheat, but the people had no seed left. An old man appeared with a large supply of seed and sold it to the farmers. Instead of asking for money he said, "I know you have no money so I do not want any now. Give it to me after the harvest". He said his name was Han and his home Pei Ch'i in Ting Hsien. That year there was an unusually large buckwheat harvest and the farmers were very grateful to the old man who had sold them the seed. When, long after the harvest, he had not come for his money, the people met to discuss the matter. They finally collected the money that was due and delegated one of their number to take it to Pei Ch'i. He could find no family there with the surname of Han, only a small broken-down temple dedicated to Han Tsu. The people, consequently, believed that it was Han Tsu who gave them the buckwheat. Out of gratitude they rebuilt the temple and organized a temple fair that was held from the 21st to the 24th of the third moon. It was the largest of the temple fairs in Ting Hsien. People came to it from all the surrounding hsien as well as from many of the villages in Ting Hsien. The first day of the fair was a general holiday for the area.

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Mohammedanism

Mohammedanism has had a place in the religious life of Ting Hsien for more than three hundred years, possibly much longer, for Mohammedans came to Peking as residents during the Sung dynasty (960–1278). Mosques, Ch'ing Chen Szu, had been built in two villages and in the hsien city. The ahongs and their assistants carried on worship the usual five times a day. Meetings for members were held on Friday. All were required to bathe before attending service.

In the two villages with mosques there were 1,400 Mohammedans, 1,210 in one village and 190 in the other. Three other nearby villages had five Mohammedans each. The number of families represented was 255 or an average of 5.5 persons per family. In one village 72 per cent and in another 36 per cent of the families were Mohammedans. Food requirements and other customs are more conveniently observed if the adherents live fairly close together.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

geomancer is consulted before the arrangement of the union of a man with a woman is decided. Shortly before the bride steps into the bridal chair, certain magical acts should be performed to drive away the evil spirits. After the wedding, the bride is led to the ancestral tomb so as to inform the spirits that a new member has been added to the family.

Illness and death are human sorrows. When a person is ill, his wife or her children, in addition to procuring medicine, proceed to a temple to burn incense before the gods. Death is a calamity; particularly so is the death of the main supporter of the family. When a person is dead, his relatives from near and far come to share the sorrow of his family, together with his friends and non-clan members of the village.

The degree of elaboration of a death ceremony, as in marriage, varies in direct proportion with the financial condition of the family. There is, however, one thing common to the ceremonies of all families and that is their magico-religious nature. Performances have to be made to send the spirit away from the dead body. The spirit has to be guaranteed the ability to reach "heaven" through "hell". The family members have to be assured that they will not be disturbed by the spirit of the dead.

In the field of agriculture, water and wind and insect pests may destroy the plants and the crops. While some of these outside dangers can be put under the farmer's control, there are many that he feels he cannot deal with. He is not quite willing to leave everything to fate and luck until gods have failed him. His mule-carts and working-animals have to be protected from evil spirits. He or his wife or one of his children has to burn incense before the gods at regular intervals of the year or month to thank them for the protection to human labor, to animals, to carts and to crops.

P'ing-chiao-tsun has a temple, but no collective worship has been carried on during recent years. No monk resides in the village temple. In case a monk is needed, he can be called to serve from temples in the neighboring villages. Many gods in the village are no longer popular, but *niang-niang* 娘娘, the goddess, is still functioning. Women pray to her for sons and later for protection of these sons.

A family may worship the gods in the house of residence. Peculiarly enough, only a few families have ancestral tablets. Ancestral worship is not popular in P'ing-chiao-tsun. Of all the house-

3 Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

hold gods, the kitchen god is the most popular. Every family has it and every family worships it at certain days of the year. On the twenty-third of the last moon of the lunar calendar, the family has to make presents to the kitchen god so that he may make a good report to the supreme god in heaven.

The most popular magico-religious ritual in P'ing-chiao-tsun according to one of our religious investigations is the one performed to the "four sacred families" or the spirits of weasels 黃鼠狼, foxes 狐狸, snakes 蛇 and hedgehogs 刺猬. A small house of two to three feet high, three to four feet long and one to two feet wide in the neighborhood of a family residence is built for the spirits of these four animals.

These spirits, evil and good, are believed to wander in the village. They cannot be hurt or disturbed. Sometimes one or several of these spirits may be in possession of a person, usually a woman. The spirits can speak through the mouth of the individual in their possession. Under such circumstances, a house may be built to please these spirits. Sometimes, these spirits may require the service of the individual in their possession to be their permanent intermediary and such an individual may cure illness in the name of one or several of these spirits.[18]

From all we know, religious worship is a family matter. Under certain circumstances such as birth, marriage and death, relatives and friends may participate in the performance. Thus the comfort that one receives from magico-religious performance is not only psychological but social. When one is in a state of emotional unbalance in a life crisis, he has his friends and relatives to pray with him and for him. The fellowship as well as the worship thus render him a moral assistance to raise him to victory out of desperation and death.

Change and Continuity

P'ing-chiao-tsun folks feel the pressure from outside to change, but they appreciate conservatism more than novelty. They look backward more than forward. If continuity and creativity are the two aspects of the process of culture, the first is more obvious in P'ing-chiao-tsun than the second. The social structure has been stationary

18 A paper on the "four sacred families" is in preparation.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

studied by Mr. Gamble in 1919, is evidenced by our inabilty in 1925-26 to find any trace of the union.

When Mr. Chang, the old guildsman who gave the report, was asked wherein lay the real source of the guild's authority, he said he thought that a "sincere belief in the master," the "strict adherence" to traditional custom, the "sense of unity" among guild members, and the custom of deciding questions by "majority rule" were the elements that gave the guild its authority and elicited the loyalty of its members. In checking off the elements we had listed as forces which held the guild together, he indicated the following: (a) fear, (b) tradition, (c) respect for superiors, (d) mutual advantage of the members; and added again, "a sincere belief in the master." The mythological founder of the carpenters' craft, Kung Shu Lu Pan, is described in detail by Mr. Gamble as follows:

> Lu Pan, who is worshiped as the founder of the craft of the carpenters and all wood-workers, lived in the Province of Shantung about the Fifth Century B. C. Tradition has it that he was the cleverest man of his generation; that he cultivated the principles of reason and religion, knew a great deal about medicine and made things out of wood. His skill in wood-working was such that he never wasted any wood, and he was able to do his sawing and cutting without the aid of the lines ordinarily used by the carpenters. He is known as the founder of all engineering work, for he made a sky ladder for use when attacking his enemies in the air. This ladder raised and lowered itself, and when fully raised reached the sky. The Chinese say that perhaps the modern airship is the result of the sky ladder of Lu Pan. He invented a wooden bird, which flew to the sky and did not come back for three days. This was followed as a pattern by the men of the Han Dynasty, who invented the paper kite, and so Lu Pan is looked on as the originator of all playthings.
>
> Tai Shan was an apprentice of Lu Pan, but he was so stupid

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

that he was disliked by his master. Finally he felt so disgraced by his inability to learn wood-working that he left Lu Pan and went out to the mountains. As he sat there disconsolate, he noticed that all around him were groves of bamboo; and thinking that bamboo was very much like wood, he split it and made baskets, tables and chairs with it. As a result, he is the hero of the bamboo workers, who blame Lu Pan because he was not able to discover the abilities of his apparently dull apprentice.[1]

At the time of the yearly religious meeting in the guild temple, a paper effigy of Lu Pan is made and on the wall to the right and to the left of this effigy are pictures of prominent deceased heads and members of the guild. The arrangements for the religious ceremony are in the hands of the committee for the year. Offerings of food are prepared and placed before the effigy. Also, paper money of the kind similar to that used at funerals and imitation silver "shoes," or conical-shaped structures of silver paper corresponding in size to the silver ingots customarily used in Chinese business transactions, are placed before the effigy. Likewise, smaller offerings of food are placed before the various photographs of the deceased members. Incense is kept burning before the effigy and the pictures.

Each guildsman after registering kowtows (kneels and bows three times with head to the ground from kneeling position) before Lu Pan and the portraits of the guild founders. After the ceremony a play provided by actors hired by the guild is given, presumably for the guild spirit, but to the great enjoyment of the guild members.

It is significant that Mr. H. C. Chang, our investigator, before studying the guild personally had thought that the religious features of these organizations were merely formal. After his study he expressed his own convictions regarding the guild as follows: "The main purpose in founding the

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 175-6.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER XI

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE GUILDS

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THE principal writers on Chinese guilds have all mentioned the custom of worshiping the master or supposed founder or patron of the guild. The ceremonies connected with this worship have been variously appraised. Morse, for example, holds that there is no distinct evidence of any strength in the common worship of the craft guilds in China.[1] The writer's conviction is that this statement is not in harmony with the evidence revealed by the present study. Before evaluating the religious practices of the guildsmen, however, we will try to present an accurate picture of the ceremonies.

In most cases where there is a regular annual meeting, the meeting is held in connection with the service of worship for the master of the guild. The business of the meeting frequently is carried on between the acts of religious drama or at different points in the religious ceremony, but the fact that there is this mixture of religious worship and business cannot be taken to signify that the worship is merely formal. Any one who has visited a Chinese temple at the time of the public fair knows that there is no incongruity or lack of reverence in the minds of the Chinese in ceremonies of worship amidst noise and confusion.

A. THE MONTH OF ANNUAL RELIGIOUS MEETING

The general meeting at which religious ceremonies are performed is usually held once a year. However, where

[1] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

there is more than one patron saint, two or even three religious meetings may be held. The dates of twenty-five such

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TABLE XIV

DATES OF REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING

Month	No. of Guilds Meeting
1st month	2
2nd month	2
3rd month	6
4th month	4
5th month	2
6th month	3
7th month	2
8th month	0
9th month	3
10th month	0
11th month	1
12th month	0

meetings show that the spring months are the most popular. Fifteen of the twenty-five meetings were held in the spring or early summer in the third, fourth, fifth, or sixth month of the lunar calendar.

PREVALENCE OF RELIGIOUS WORSHIP AMONG THE GUILDS

Religious ceremonies are most prevalent among the craftsmen. With one exception, the Dye Stuffs Guild, all the craft workers and professionals have one or more saints or gods that they worship.[1] Possibly the Dye Stuffs Guild has no patron saint because of the late date of its founding. The fact that the Electricians Guild has no patron bears out this assumption. Three of the commercial guilds have no patron saints, and the report on one of them is uncertain.

[1] *Cf.* Table XVI, pp. 188, 189.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE XV

THE PREVALENCE OF RELIGIOUS WORSHIP AMONG THE GUILDS

	No. of guilds in which one or more "saints" are worshipped every year	No. of guilds in which worship recently has been discontinued	No. of guilds having no saint or no worship	No. of guilds uncertain
Handcraft.....	12	3	1	
Commercial.....	9	5	3	1
Professional.....	7	1		
Total.....	28	9	4	1

A significant feature of the replies was the evidence that regular religious ceremonies are being discontinued in a large proportion of the guilds. In nine (24.3 per cent) of the thirty-seven guilds reporting religious ceremonies, the ceremonies have been discontinued. This phenomenon is especially in evidence in the commercial guilds, five of which have in recent years discontinued their ceremonies.

The reports on this point throw some light on the reasons for discontinuance. The Confectionery Makers say that "formerly there was religious ceremony; now it is stopped." The Cloth Pasters report that "formerly we had worship at the *Ching Chung* Temple; the last few years, due to bad business, there has been none." The Shoe Fasteners report, "We have had no plays for the last few years." The Cooks report, "For about ten years there was religious worship where feasts and plays were given in the *Yao Wang* Temple. It is now stopped." The Cloth Stores, "The ceremony is now stopped." The Confectionery Stores, "There has been no play for two years." The Second-hand Clothes Merchants, "This year there was no drama." The Clock Stores, "At first (when the guild was founded) there was worship, but not now." The Dye Stuffs Guild, "Plays have been cancelled since 1900."

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

One evident reason for the stopping of the plays is an economic one. Such ceremonies are costly and cannot be kept up during "bad business," as the Cloth Pasters report. In the case of the Clock Stores, the probable reason for discontinuing the worship was that originally the guild ceremonies were of a Roman Catholic nature, the guildsmen all being of that religion, but recently many Buddhists have been taken into the trade and there could be no form of religious ceremony that would satisfy both groups. Undoubtedly contact with new ideas and loss in belief in the potency of the ancient religious worship have also been factors influencing this discontinuance. In the commercial guilds where all members are able to read and where wide contacts are made through the Chamber of Commerce, the newer ideas have a fairly direct access to the minds of the guildsmen.

C. The Names and Description of the Guild Founders or Masters

The guild founders or masters [1] were chosen from craftsmen, mythological or otherwise, who were supposed to have founded a particular craft, from emperors, historical or legendary, and from the gods of current belief. Table XVI [2] lists the masters or gods worshiped by the Peking crafts.

The most popular of these masters is the God of Wealth, who is worshiped by eight guilds. *Kung Shu Lu Pan*, whom we have already described in our study of the Carpenters,[3] is a close second, being worshiped by seven of the craft guilds. The legends and stories about these supposed foun-

[1] The special objects of guild worship were called masters, founders, gods or patron saints, the terms sometimes being used interchangeably.

[2] *Cf.* pp. 188, 189.

[3] *Cf.* p. 100.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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ders or guardian spirits are many and are frequently contradictory.[1] The God of Wealth is not, as a matter of fact, one god, but has three representations in the persons of three historical or legendary characters. The one worshiped by the guildsmen is *Kwan Yü*, commonly known as *Wu Tsai Shen*, or the Military God of Wealth. Just why these guildsmen have selected this particular one of the three is not clear. *Kwan Yü* was a high military official and the brother of the equally famous *Yiu Pei* and lived at the time of the Three Kingdoms (A. D. 221–264). He was noted for his faithfulness to his adopted brother and for his honesty.

Tien Hwang, Ti Hwang and *Jen Hwang*, the three emperors of Heaven, Earth and Man, are the symbolical representations of the rulers at the time of the Three August Periods.[2] During these mythical reigns, first the heavens were formed, next the earth received its shape, and finally terrestrial beings took their places in the universe. To describe fully the significance in Chinese minds of the principles and potentialities symbolized by these Emperors would, of course, take us far afield from the subject in hand.

Tsao Wang, the Kitchen God, worshiped by the cooks, the waiters and the kitchen coolies, is variously described as the deification of any one of four different individuals, one of whom was a deity worshiped in the Hsia Dynasty (B. C. 2205-2146), and another, the Emperor Hwang Ti (B. C. 2697-2597), who is supposed to have been the first to build a stove.

Wen Tai Shih is thought to have been a high official of the Shang Dynasty under Emperor Chou (1154-1122).

Wen Chang Ti Chun is probably the name of a god of the Buddhist Pantheon.

[1] Most of the following legendary material is derived from the Chinese Encyclopedia published in Shanghai by the Commercial Press.

[2] H. H. Gowan, *An Outline History of China* (Boston, 1913), p. 2.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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Yü Wang was an Emperor in the Hsia Dynasty (B. C. 2205-2197). He founded the Dynasty at the time when China was flooded and in general disorder. He dug canals and widened rivers and is supposed to have built nine famous bronze tripods, the first of their kind. Since the base material of much cloisonné work is bronze, Yü Wang is worshiped by the Cloisonné Designers.

Chu Hsi, or Philosopher Chu (A. D. 1130-1201), is the standard commentator on the writings of Confucius.

Han Yü lived in the T'ang Dynasty under Emperor Te Tzung (780-805). He was a clever philosopher who because of his great aversion to superstition tried to prevent the Emperor from collecting the bones of Buddha from which the Emperor expected to derive supernatural power. For his efforts he was demoted in official position.

Pu An Lao Tzu is worshiped by the painters who do the common work without decoration.

Wu Tao Chen Jen lived in the Tang Dynasty (A. D. 618-905) and was called the Sage of Painters. He was specially famous for the painting of Buddhist gods. It is said that when he was putting the finishing touches to the eyes of a dragon he was painting, the dragon flapped his tail and walked out of the canvas. The painters who do the decorative work worship this famous artist.

Hu Tzu, or Ancestor Hu, is worshiped by the Tinkers. Hu at one time was such an able craftsman that he offered to mend a pagoda that was broken, and did so successfully. When going around the country he is said to have used the expression, "I will mend the *Ta Chia Huo*" — "the large utensils." Judging from his exploit in mending the broken pagoda it does not seem presumptous that he should be willing to make this offer!

Tang Hsuan Tzung was an Emperor of the Tang Dynasty (B. C. 713-750). He was a very sociable man, fond of

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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music and drama. He is said to have gathered together the waitresses and the men servants of his court and to have trained them personally as actors and musicians. This trained band of the Emperor's servants is supposed to have been the first group of actors. This Emperor is generally known as the *Hsi Shen* or God of Happiness.

Lo Tzu is the founder of the barbers. No information as to the history of this mythological character is available.

Shih Kwang was a famous blind musician of the Chin Dynasty (B. C. 249-209). He was able by some mysterious intuition to foretell good and evil from hearing the sound of music.

Tung Fang Shuo was a blind entertainer who lived in the Han Dynasty (B. C. 202–A. D. 190). He was very famous as a maker of witty speeches and as a teller of humorous stories.

Chou Chuang Wang was an Emperor of the Chwang or Chou Dynasty who lived B. C. 696-681.

Mei Hsien Wang and *Ke Hsien Wang* are two Fairy Kings of current mythology.

Chen Wu Ta Ti is a mythological God of the North.

Sun Pin was a warrior of the T'si Dynasty (A. D. 479-501). The story is that he had his feet cut off when captured by his deadly rival, P'ang Chuan. He was returned to his patron Emperor and was successful later in annihilating his former adversary.

Mohammed and *Allah* are the deities of the Mutton Merchants in Peking, who are all Mohammedans, and hence worship at the Mohammedan Mosque in the usual fashion of their faith.

Ping Tien Ta Ti, Peaceful Heaven and Large Earth, and *Huo Shen*, the god who controls fire, are worshiped by the Pork Shops Guild.

Ching Miao Shen, God of Growing Crops, is the patron saint of the Vegetable Merchants.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

(3) Religion has also been conceived as an aid in survival in time of group crises [1] and as a means of obtaining control of supernatural forces which aid in securing whatever is most coveted by the group.[2] It may be that in the religious worship there is this element both of dependence upon and of desire to attain control of the power or potentialities associated with the master or founder of the guild. It is supposed that a proper adjustment to him attained by following traditionally accepted forms of worship will secure the desired economic success or skill in craftsmanship.

(4) Closely associated with this view is the conception of magic and special potency immediately issuing from the photograph or effigy of the guild founder. In describing attendance at one of the guild meetings, an eye-witness said that there was great rivalry among a group of craftsmen for a place in the row immediately in front of the effigy of Lu Pan. When asked to explain this desire for proximity to the master, Mr. Chang, our investigator, said, "This is very natural. Those behind in a group, when they worship, are worshiping the backs of the others rather than the master's effigy." It is possible that this mystical element in the belief in the securing of special blessing or power from the god may also be a factor.

(5) There is little evidence that fear of the guild master has very much to do with the worship. However, the offender of guild rules is summoned before the guild master. Presumably he feels guilty, not only in the sight of his fellow guildsmen but also in the sight of the guild god.

(6) Dr. Goldenweiser, in his interesting treatment of totemism,[3] states that the essential factor in totemistic prac-

[1] R. R. Marrett, *Anthropology* (New York, 1912).

[2] W. K. Wright, *A Student's Philosophy of Religion* (New York, 1922).

[3] A. Goldenweiser, *Early Civilization* (New York, 1922), pp. 288-90.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

tices and worship is the identification of the total social system with the symbolic object of worship. He finds in the symbols of college classes, football teams, the Elks and the Masons present-day survivals of this early notion. It is possible, especially in the case of the craft guilds, that there may be this emotional fusion of loyalty and regard for the guild, its functions and operations, with worship of the symbolic master who founded the craft. Worship of this sort would involve an emotional identification (on the part of individual worshipers) with the guild as a group. The testimony of several of the guildsmen concerning the strength of a "united body" and the "sense of solidarity" and the statement that except for the worship of the master the guild might not have held together, would seem to point in this direction.

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(7) When we analyze carefully the pattern of worship in the guild meetings we find a great similarity to the ceremonies in the clan ancestral temple. In the worship in the clan ancestral hall the ceremonies are conducted at one time by the group as a whole, while at their meetings the guildsmen come in one by one, or in groups, and worship as they arrive; but in other respects the ceremonies are strikingly similar. The portrait or tablet of the clan founder is in the center of the pictures or tablets of important family heads of past generations. The offerings are of the same character, and in both cases the ceremony of printed prayers and of kneeling three times is observed. A similar form of worship is observed in the temples at the time of special festivals in honor of certain gods. The early origin of this general worship pattern is a subject far beyond the scope of this treatment. It seems at least possible, however, that the guild worship may have originated as a mere transference of the behavior pattern of the family clan to the newly-founded guild.

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4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE XVI

MASTERS OR GODS WORSHIPED BY THE GUILD MEMBERS

(Unless otherwise indicated, the name given is the name of an actual or supposed historical character)

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	Class of guild			Total No. of guilds
	Craft	Commercial	Professional	
Tsai Shen or Kwan Yü (God of Wealth)	Cloth Pasters	Cloth Stores Coal Stores Fur Stores Pork Shops Satin and Silk Stores Second-hand Clothes Stores	Porters	8
Kung Shu Lu Pan	Awning Makers Carpenters Leather Box Makers Masons Mat Tent Makers Painters Table and Chair Makers			7
Tien Hwang, Ti Hwang, Jen Hwang (The Three Emperors—Heaven, Earth and Man)	Silk Thread Makers	Hat Stores	Blind	3
Tsao Wang (Kitchen God)			Cooks Waiters Kitchen Coolies	3
Wen Tai Shih	Confectionery Makers	Confectionery Stores		2
Wen Chang Ti Chun	Paper Hangers		Story Tellers	2
Yü Wang (King Yü)	Cloisonné Designers			1
Chu Hsi (Chu-Fu-Tzu)	Paper Hangers			1
Han Yü	Paper Hangers			1
Pu An Lao Tzu	Painters			1
Wu Tao Chen Jen	Painters			1
Hu Tzu	Tinkers			1
Tang Hsuan Tzung (or Hsi Shen—The God of Happiness)			Actors	1

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE XVI—*Continued*

441 *
467 *
776 ●

	Class of guild			Total No. of guilds
	Craft	Commercial	Professional	
Lo Tzu			Barbers	1
Shih Kwang			Blind	1
Tung Fang Shuo			Blind	1
Tien Hsien Sheng Mu (Heavenly Fairy Sacred Mother)			Porters	1
Chou Chuang Wang (Emperor Chuang of the Chou Dynasty)			Story Tellers	1
Mei Hsien Wang (Fairy King)		Dye Stuff		1
Ke Hsien Wang (Fairy King)		Dye Stuff		1
Chen Wu Ta Ti		Dye Stuff		1
Sun Pin		Leather Stores		1
Mohammed and Allah		Mutton Shops		1
Ping Tien Ta Ti		Pork Shops		1
Huo Shen (God of Fire)		Pork Shops		1
Ching Miao Shen (God of Growing Crops)		Vegetable Merchants		1